

UNCLASSIFIED

E25

CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)PAGE 01 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		

-----7FFF18 301255Z /38

O 301245Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2370  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KIGALI 04921

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: A PROPOSITION FOR ARUSHA

REF: KIGALI 4901

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: RWANDA RELIGIOUS LEADERS PROPOSED A  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z  
POWER-SHARING FORMULA FAVORING OPPOSITION PARTIES  
AGAINST THE PRESIDENT'S MRND. IN THE ABSENCE OF MRND  
MINISTERS, THE CABINET ACCEPTED THE PROPOSALS IN A  
SPECIAL MEETING SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28. FIRMLY  
SUPPORTED BY THE PAPAL NUNCIO, THE CHURCHES ARE SO  
FAR FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THEIR POLITICAL PROPOSAL.  
THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AGREES. WESTERN AMBASSADORS  
WILL MEET WITH THE NONCE DECEMBER 1, AFTER HEARING  
ABOUT HABYARIMANA'S VISIT TO DAR ES SALAAM. BEFORE  
US IS A CONFIDENTIAL PROPOSAL TO INFLUENCE  
HABYARIMANA TO ACCEPT THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL. I

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

SUGGEST WE SUPPORT THE PAPAL NUNCIO IN GENERAL TERMS ON A POSSIBLE DEMARCHE, BUT CONSULT CLOSELY WITH PARIS BEFORE ENDORSING THE SPECIFICS OF THE BISHOPS' PLAN. END SUMMARY.

-----  
THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL  
-----

3. AS REPORTED REFTTEL, AS OF LATE FRIDAY WE EXPECTED THE LEADERS OF THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN RWANDA TO RETURN A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE TWO PROPOSALS THAT WERE ON THE TABLE. TO EVERYONE'S SURPRISE, BY FRIDAY NIGHT, THE BISHOPS HAD SHIFTED TO FULL SUPPORT FOR THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE, AND HAD COMPLETELY ABANDONED THE OPTION WHICH WOULD HAVE GIVEN THE MRND 35 PERCENT OF THE SEATS. AS IT NOW STANDS, THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL WOULD PROVIDE THREE MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS EACH FOR THE MRND, MDR, RPF, PL AND PSD. AS ADOPTED BY THE CABINET ON SATURDAY,

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z  
IT WOULD INCLUDE TWO SEATS FOR THE PDC AND THREE FOR OTHER PARTIES. THE SECOND SEAT FOR THE PDC IS INTENDED TO BE THAT OF SECRETARY OF STATE FOR REFUGEES, NOT A MINISTRY, BUT A VOTE IN THE CABINET. IN ADDITION, THE MRND WOULD RETAIN THE PRESIDENCY, AND THE MDR WOULD RETAIN THE PREMATURE. THE RPF WOULD HOLD THE POSITION OF VICE PRIME MINISTER, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT WOULD NOT BE IN ADDITION TO ITS THREE PORTFOLIOS.

4. THE BISHOPS PUT THIS PROPOSITION TO THE PRESIDENT IN A FORMAL LETTER FRIDAY NIGHT.

-----  
THE GOVERNMENT ACTS  
-----

5. ON SATURDAY, THE PRIME MINISTER CALLED TOGETHER THE CABINET TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE BISHOPS. DELAYED BY AN HOUR BY THE NONAPPEARANCE OF THE MRND MINISTERS, THE CABINET THEN WENT FORWARD AND, BY CONSENSUS, ADOPTED THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE BISHOPS IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MRND. WHEN THE MRND MINISTERS SHOWED UP LATER, THEY WERE PRESENTED WITH A

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

FAIT ACCOMPLI.

6. THE MRND MINISTERS THEN ISSUED A PUBLIC  
ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THEY WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE  
TRANSITION GOVERNMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE BISHOPS  
PROPOSALS. SOME MRND MINISTERS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT  
THEY WILL HAVE THEIR GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 04921 01 OF 04 301254Z  
CAN HAVE ITS| THIS IS CLEARLY A WILDLY EMOTIONAL  
REACTION TO CURRENT EVENTS THAT WORKED AGAINST THEIR  
INTERESTS. THERE WAS OTHER TALK IN THE PRESIDENT'S  
ENTOURAGE OF DISMISSING THE PRIME MINISTER AND  
FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT. THIS IS CONSTITUTIONAL,  
BUT POLITICAL DISASTER. THE DIRECTOR OF THE  
PRESIDENT'S CABINET ASSURES ME THAT THE PRESIDENT  
WILL NOT GO TO THIS EXTREME.

-----  
THE CHURCHES STAND FIRM

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04921 02 OF 04 301256Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		

-----7FFF55 301256Z /38

O 301245Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2371  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 KIGALI 04921

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: A PROPOSITION FOR ARUSHA

-----  
7. STRENGTHENED BY THE FIRM POSITION OF THE PAPAL  
NUNCIO, AND BY THE INTEREST EXPRESSED BY THE POPE IN  
ROME ON THE FIRST DAY OF ADVENT (HE CALLED FOR PEACE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 04921 02 OF 04 301256Z  
OF ALL WARRING FACTIONS IN RWANDA), THE CHURCHES HAVE  
LARGELY PULLED TOGETHER DEFENDING THE PROPOSITION  
THEY HAVE NOW MADE. THE EXCEPTION IS THE ANGLICAN  
ARCHBISHOP WHO HAS WRITTEN TO THE OBSERVERS  
PROTESTING THE MANNER IN WHICH THE BISHOPS' PROPOSAL  
WAS ARRIVED AT. HE DID NOT OFFER A COUNTER PROPOSAL,  
BUT CLEARLY PREFERRED THE EARLIER OPTION WHICH WOULD  
HAVE GIVEN THE MRND 35 PERCENT OF THE CABINET.  
(NOTE. THE ARCHBISHOP HAS ALWAYS BEEN A STRONG  
SUPPORTER OF THE PRESIDENT.)

8. THE PAPAL NUNCIO TOLD ME, BOTH SATURDAY AND  
SUNDAY, THAT HE SEES NO OTHER OPTION THAN FOR THE  
PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE CHURCH  
LEADERS. HE SPENT MUCH OF SUNDAY AFTERNOON WITH  
ENOCH RUHIGERA, THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S  
CABINET, TRYING TO PERSUADE THE LATTER OF THE  
IMPORTANCE OF ACCEPTING THE PROPOSALS AS THEY ARE.  
RUHIGERA LATER CAME TO SEE ME. SEE BELOW.

-----  
THE FRENCH POSITION  
-----

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

B1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

B1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: A PROPOSITION FOR ARUSHA

-----  
HABYARIMANA TO DAR ES SALAAM  
-----

14. ALTHOUGH WE ARE TOLD THAT THE VISIT TO PRESIDENT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 04921 03 OF 04 301258Z  
MWINYI IN DAR ES SALAAM WAS PLANNED SOME TIME AGO,  
ITS TIMING SEEMS QUITE SIGNIFICANT. IT IS A ONE-DAY  
VISIT. THE PRESIDENT LEFT AT 7:00 THIS MORNING AND  
WILL BE BACK LATE THIS AFTERNOON. SPECULATION HERE  
IS THAT MWINYI WILL ENCOURAGE HABYARIMANA TO ACCEPT  
THE RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE BISHOPS. ENOCH RUHIGERA  
IS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND HAS PROMISED TO CALL ME  
THIS EVENING TO GIVE ME A RUNDOWN ON THE OUTCOME.

-----  
A MORE ACTIVE WESTERN ROLE?  
-----

15. LATE SUNDAY, RUHIGERA (PROTECT) CAME BY THE  
RESIDENCE WITH A PERSONAL PROPOSAL FOR US.  
APPARENTLY CONVINCED BY THE PAPAL NUNCIO THAT THERE  
WAS NO ALTERNATIVE, HE ASKED ME IF I WOULD GO TO THE  
PRESIDENT AND PERSUADE HIM TO ACCEPT THE BISHOPS'  
RECOMMENDATIONS. I TOLD HIM THAT TO INTERVENE IN  
SUCH A SPECIFIC WAY WOULD REQUIRE FULL AGREEMENT WITH  
OUR WESTERN ALLIES AND INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON.  
ENOCH AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL TO HAVE  
THE FRENCH AND THE AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TOGETHER  
SPEAKING WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE DID NOT LIKE THE  
IDEA OF INVOLVING US TOGETHER WITH THE PAPAL NUNCIO,  
BECAUSE MANY AROUND THE PRESIDENT ARE NOW SUSPICIOUS  
THAT THE NONCE PLAYED A HEAVY-HANDED ROLE IN GETTING  
THE BISHOPS TO FINALLY PROPOSE THE SECOND OPTION.

16. ENOCH'S PROPOSAL WOULD IMPLY THAT THE THREE  
PORTFOLIOS FOR OTHER PARTIES WOULD INCLUDE AT LEAST  
CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 04921 03 OF 04 301258Z  
ONE AND PROBABLY TWO SEATS FOR THE CDR. HE ARGUES  
THIS ON THE BASIS OF THE REALITY OF THE CDR AS A  
POLITICAL FORCE, AND THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE  
THEM INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT THAN THREATENING THE NEW  
GOVERNMENT FROM OUTSIDE. (COMMENT: THIS IS A VIEW  
SHARED BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR. CLEARLY IT IS NOT  
SHARED BY THE OPPOSITION PARTIES AND THE RPF.) ENOCH  
SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE BISHOPS  
TO FORMULATE A PLEDGE IN SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT  
WHICH WOULD COMMIT THE CDR, AND ALL OTHER PARTIES, TO  
AVOID ETHNIC OR REGIONAL POSITIONS AND TO ESCHEW  
VIOLENCE.

17. I HAVE TALKED WITH THE FRENCH AND GERMAN  
AMBASSADORS THIS MORNING. WE AGREE TO MEET AGAIN  
TOMORROW, DECEMBER 1, TO DISCUSS A POSSIBLE WESTERN  
ROLE IN THIS CRISIS AFTER HEARING WHAT HAS HAPPENED  
IN DAR ES SALAAM. THE PAPAL NUNCIO WILL BE AVAILABLE  
TOMORROW TO MEET WITH US ALTHOUGH HE IS OUT OF TOWN  
TODAY FOR THE FUNERAL OF A CANADIAN PRIEST WHO WAS  
APPARENTLY MURDERED LAST NIGHT REPORTEDLY BECAUSE OF  
HIS ACTIVISM IN WORKING WITH YOUTH.

-----  
PROPOSED APPROACH  
-----

18. THERE SEEMS TO BE A CONSENSUS FORMING AMONG THE  
OBSERVERS HERE THAT THE ONLY VIABLE OPTION FOR PEACE  
AND CONTINUATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IS FOR THE  
PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT IN BROAD TERMS THE PROPOSALS MADE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 04921 03 OF 04 301258Z  
BY THE BISHOPS. I AM PREPARED TO SUPPORT, WITH THE  
WESTERN AMBASSADORS AND THE PAPAL NUNCIO, A GENERAL  
APPROACH TO PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA URGING HIM TO WORK  
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE BISHOPS' PROPOSALS, BUT  
STOPPING SHORT OF ENDORSING THEIR SPECIFICS.

19. MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT COULD COME UP IN ONE  
OF THREE WAYS. IT COULD BE AN INVITATION FROM THE  
PRESIDENT TO THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS FOR A CONVERSATION  
ON THE PRESENT CRISIS. IT COULD BE A PROPOSAL FROM

UNCLASSIFIED



UNCLASSIFIED

THE NONCE, AS DEAN OF THE CORPS, TO TAKE THE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KIGALI 04921 04 OF 04 302005Z  
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		
				-----803043	302005Z	/38	

O 301245Z NOV 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2373  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 KIGALI 04921

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: A PROPOSITION FOR ARUSHA

INITIATIVE TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT, INVITING THE  
U.S., FRENCH, GERMAN AND BELGIAN AMBASSADORS TO  
ACCOMPANY HIM.

CONFIDENTIAL

B1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 04921 04 OF 04 302005Z

B1

IN

THIS CASE, WE WOULD WISH TO HAVE A CLEAR UNANIMITY OF VIEWS AMONG THE WESTERN AMBASSADORS.

20. I HAVE NO IDEA OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HERE IS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF PARIS, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH HE IS SIMPLY USING HIS OWN LOGIC. ALTHOUGH THERE IS A MOOD OF URGENCY AND CRISIS IN KIGALI WHICH MAY REQUIRE US TO MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT IN THE NEXT TWENTY-FOUR HOURS, ON BALANCE I COME DOWN BELIEVING THAT WE SHOULD NOT TAKE A POSITION ON A SPECIFIC ISSUE IN FRONT OF US WITHOUT HAVING COORDINATED WITH THE FRENCH. EVEN IF MARTRES IS RIGHT, THAT THE FRENCH WOULD BE FORCED TO GO ALONG WITH THE WESTERN CONSENSUS, THE PRUDENT POSITION WOULD BE TO HAVE A CONVERSATION WITH THE FRENCH IN PARIS BEFORE WE RESPOND SPECIFICALLY TO THE PRESIDENT.

21. THUS, I PROPOSE TO ACCOMPANY THE NONCE IF HE INSISTS ON GOING FORWARD TO SEE THE PRESIDENT, IF THE FRENCH, BELGIANS AND GERMANS ALSO ACCOMPANY HIM, BUT NOT TO MAKE ANY SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT WITHOUT HAVING FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. IF THE PRESIDENT CALLS ME TOMORROW, I WILL GIVE HIM GENERAL IDEAS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF RECONCILIATION AND RESPECTING THE ADVICE THAT HE HAS BEEN GIVEN, BUT WOULD TELL HIM I MUST AWAIT FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS TO WASHINGTON TO BE MORE SPECIFIC. FLATEN

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 04921 04 OF 04 302005Z

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED